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ELLWOOD FISHER,
Washington City.

Address to the People of the Southern
States.

At a large meeting of Southern members
of both Houses of Congress, held at the Cap-
itol on the evening of the 7th ultimo, the
Hon. HOPKINS L. TURNEY, of Tennessee,
having been appointed Chairman at a pre-
vious meeting, took the Chair; and, on motion
of the Hon. DAVID HUBBARD, of Alabama,
the Hon. WILLIAM J. ALSTON, of Alabama,
was appointed Secretary.

Whereupon, the Hon. A. P. BUTLER, of
South Carolina, from the committee appointed
at a preliminary meeting, reported an Ad-
dress to the Southern people, recommending
the establishment, at Washington City, of a
newspaper, to be devoted to the support and
defense of Southern interests; which was
read, and with some slight modifications,
adopted.

The following resolution was offered by
the Hon. THOMAS L. CLINGMAN, of North
Carolina, and unanimously adopted by the
meeting.

Resolved, unanimously, That the committee,
in carrying the Address, be instructed to with-
in the names of the Senators and Representatives
in Congress who concur in the proposition to establish
the Southern Organ, as manifested by their subscrip-
tions to the several copies of the plan in circulation,
or who may hereafter authorize said committee to
include their names.

Maryland.—Senator: Thomas G. Pratt.
Virginia.—Senators: R. M. T. Hunter,
J. M. Mason. Representatives: J. A.
Seddon, Thos. H. Averett, Paulus Powell,
R. K. Meade, Alex. R. Holladay, Thos.
S. Bocoek, H. A. Edmundson, Jeremiah
Morton.

North Carolina.—Senator: Willie P.
Mangum. Representatives: T. L. Cling-
man, A. W. Venable, W. S. Ashe.

South Carolina.—Senators: A. P. But-
ler, F. H. Elmore. Representatives: John
McQueen, Joseph A. Woodward, Daniel
Wallace, Wm. F. Colcock, James L. Orr,
Armistead Burt, Isaac E. Holmes.

Georgia.—Senators: John McP. Berrien,
William C. Dawson. Representatives: Jo-
seph W. Jackson, Alex. H. Stephens, Rob-
ert Toombs, H. A. Haralson, Allen F.
Owen.

Alabama.—Senator: Jeremiah Clemens.
Representatives: David Hubbard, F. W.
Bowdon, S. W. Inge, W. J. Alston, S.
W. Harris.

Mississippi.—Senator: Jefferson Davis.
Representatives: W. S. Featherston, Jacob
Thompson, A. G. Brown, W. W. Mc-
Willie.

Louisiana.—Senators: S. U. Downs,
Pierre Soule. Representatives: J. H. Har-
mon, Emile La Sere, Isaac E. Morse.

Arkansas.—Senators: Solon Borland, W.
Sebastian. Representative: R. W. John-
son.

Texas.—Representatives: Vol. E. How-
ard, D. S. Kaufman.

Missouri.—Senator: D. R. Atchison.
Representative: James S. Green.

Kentucky.—Representatives: R. H. Stan-
ton, James L. Johnson.

Tennessee.—Senator: Hopkins L. Tur-
ney. Representatives: James H. Thomas,
Frederick P. Stanton, C. H. Williams,
John H. Savage.

Florida.—Senators: Jackson Morton, D.
L. Yulee. Representative: E. Carrington
Cabbell.

And upon motion, the meeting adjourned.
HOPKINS L. TURNEY, Chairman.

ATTEST: WM. J. ALSTON, Secretary.

THE ADDRESS

The committee to which was referred the
duty of preparing an Address to the peo-
ple of the slaveholding States upon the
subject of a Southern Organ, to be estab-
lished in the City of Washington, put
forth the following:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: A number of Sena-
tors and Representatives in Congress from
the Southern States of the Confederacy deep-
ly impressed with a sense of the dangers
which beset those States, have considered
carefully our means of self-defense within
the Union and the Constitution, and have
come to the conclusion that it is highly im-
portant to establish in this city a paper, which,
without reference to political party, shall be
devoted to the rights and interests of the
South, so far as they are involved in the ques-
tions growing out of African slavery. To
establish and maintain such a paper, your
support is necessary, and accordingly we
address you on the subject.

In the contest now going on, the consti-
tutional equality of fifteen States is put in
question. Some sixteen hundred millions
worth of negro property is involved directly,
and indirectly, though not less surely, an in-
calculable amount of property in other forms.
But to say this is to state less than half the
doom that hangs over you. Your social forms
and institutions—which separate the
European and the African races into distinct
classes, and assign to each a different sphere
in society—are threatened with overthrow.
Whether the negro is to occupy the same
social rank with the white man, and enjoy
equally the rights, privileges, and immuni-
ties of citizenship—in short, all the honors
and dignities of society—is a question of
greater moment than any mere question of
property can be.

Such is the contest now going on—a con-
test in which public opinion, if not the pre-
vailing, is destined to be a most prominent
force; and yet, no organ of the united inter-
ests of those assailed has as yet been estab-
lished, nor does there exist any paper
which can be the common medium for an
interchange of opinions amongst the Southern
States. Public opinion, as it has been
formed and directed by the combined influ-
ence of interest and prejudice, is the force
which has been most potent against us in
the war now going on against the institu-
tion of negro slavery; and yet we have taken
no effectual means to make and main-
tain that issue with it upon which our safety
and perhaps our social existence depends.
Whoever will look to the history of this
question, and to the circumstances under
which we are now placed, must see that
our position is one of imminent danger,
and one to be defended by all the means,
moral and political, of which we can avail

ourselves in the present emergency. The
warfare against African slavery commenced,
as is known, with Great Britain, who, after
having contributed mainly to its establish-
ment in the New World, devoted her most
earnest efforts, for purposes not yet fully ex-
plained, to its abolition in America. How
wisely this was done, so far as her own col-
onies were concerned, was her own determi-
nation; and all comment upon this subject on
our part would be entirely superfluous. It,
however, her purpose was to reach and em-
barrass us on this subject, her efforts have
not been without success. A common organ
of the English language, have made the English
language ours to a great extent, and the
efforts of the British Government and people
to mould the public opinion of all who
speak the English language, have not been
vain or fruitless. On the contrary, they
have been deeply felt wherever the Eng-
lish language is spoken; and the more
efficient and dangerous, because, as yet,
the South has taken no steps to appear and
plead at the bar of the world, before which
she has been summoned, and by which she
has been tried already without a hearing.
Secured by constitutional guarantees, and
independent of all the world, so far as its
domestic institutions were concerned, the
South has reposed upon the consciousness
of right and independence, and foreborne to
plead at a bar which she knew had no juris-
diction over this particular subject. In this
we have been theoretically right, but prac-
tically we have made a great mistake. All
means, political, diplomatic, and literary,
have been used to concentrate the public
opinion, not only of the world at large, but
of our own country, against us; and resting
upon the undoubted truth that our domestic
institutions were the subjects of no Govern-
ment but our own local Governments, and
concerned no one but ourselves, we have
been passive under these assaults, until
danger menaces us from every quarter.

A great party has grown up, and is increasing
in the United States, which seems to think
it a duty they owe to earth and heaven to
make war on a domestic institution upon
which are staked our property, our social
organization, and our peace and safety.
Sectional feelings have been invoked, and
those who wield the power of this Govern-
ment have been tempted almost, if not quite,
beyond their power of resistance, to wage a
war against our property, our rights, and
our social system, which, if successfully
prosecuted, must end in our destruction.

Every inducement—the love of power, the
desire to accomplish what are, with less
truth than plausibility, called "reforms"—
all are offered to tempt them to press upon
those who are represented, and, in fact,
seem to be an easy prey to the spoiler. Our
equality under the Constitution is, in effect,
denied; our social institutions are derided
and contemned, and ourselves treated with
contumely and scorn through all the avenues
which have as yet been opened to the pub-
lic opinion of the world. That these
assaults should have had their effect is not
surprising, when we remember that, as yet,
we have offered no organized resistance to
them, and opposed but little, except the iso-
lated efforts of members of Congress, who
have occasionally raised their voices against
what they believe to be wrongs and injustices.

It is time that we should meet and main-
tain an issue, in which we find ourselves in-
volved by those who make war upon us in
regard to every interest that is peculiar to
us, and which is not enjoyed in common with
them, however guaranteed by solemn com-
pact, and no matter how vitally involving our
prosperity, happiness, and safety. It is time
that we should take measures to defend our-
selves against assaults which can end in
nothing short of our destruction, if we oppose
no resistance to them. Owing to accidental
circumstances, and a want of knowledge of
the true condition of things in the Southern
States, the larger portion of the press and of
the political literature of the world has been
directed against us. The moral power of
public opinion carries political strength along
with it, and against us, we must wrestle
with it or fall. If, as we firmly believe, truth
is with us, there is nothing to discourage us
in such an effort.

The eventual strength of an opinion is to
be measured, not by the number who may
chance to entertain it, but by the truth which
sustains it. We believe—nay, we know, that
truth is with us, and therefore we should not
shrink from the contest. We have too much
staked upon it to shrink or to tremble—
property interest, in all its forms, of incal-
culable amount and value; the social organiza-
tion, the equality, the liberty, nay, the exist-
ence of fourteen or fifteen States of the Con-
federacy—all rest upon the result of the
struggle in which we are engaged. We must
maintain the equality of our political
position in the Union; we must maintain the
dignity and respectability of our social posi-
tion before the world; and must maintain
and secure our liberty and rights, so far as
our united efforts can protect them; and, if
possible, we must effect all this within the
pale of the Union, and by means known to
the Constitution. The union of the South
upon these vital interests is necessary, not
only for the sake of the South, but perhaps
for the sake of the Union. We have great
interests exposed to the assaults, not only of
the world at large, but of those who, consti-
tuting a majority, wield the power of our
own confederated States. We must defend
those interests by all legitimate means, or
else perish either in or without the effort. To
make successful defence, we must unite with
each other upon one vital question, and make
the most of our political strength. We must
do more—we must go beyond our entrench-
ments, and meet even the more distant and
indirect, but by no means harmless assaults,
which are directed against us. We, too,
can appeal to public opinion. Our assailants
act upon theory, to their theory we can op-
pose experience. They reason upon an
imaginary state of things, to this we may
oppose truth and actual knowledge. To do
this, however, we too must open up avenues
to the public mind; we, too, must have an
organ through which we can appeal to the
world, and commune with each other. The

want of such an organ, heretofore, has been
perhaps one of the leading causes of our pre-
sent condition.

There is no paper at the Seat of Govern-
ment through which we can hear or be heard
fairly and truly by the country. There is a
paper here which makes the abolition of sla-
very its main and paramount end. There
are other papers here which make the main-
tenance of political parties their supreme and
controlling object, but none which consider
the preservation of sixteen hundred millions
of property, the equality and liberty of four-
teen or fifteen States, the protection of the
white man against African equality, as para-
mount over, or even equal to, the main-
tenance of some political organization which
to secure a President, who is an object of
interest not because he will certainly rule,
or perhaps ruin the South, but chiefly for the
reason that he will possess and bestow office
and spoils. The South has a peculiar posi-
tion, and her important rights and interests
are objects of continual assault from the ma-
jority; and the party press, dependent as it
is upon that majority for its means of living,
will always be found laboring to excuse the
assaults, and to paralyze all efforts at resist-
ance. How is it now? The abolition party
can always be heard through its press at the
Seat of Government, but through what
organ or press at Washington can Southern
men communicate with the world, or with
each other, upon their own peculiar inter-
ests? So far from writing, or permitting
anything to be written, which is calculated
to defend the rights of the South, or state its
case, the papers here are engaged in lulling
the South into a false security, and in man-
ufacturing there an artificial public sentiment,
suitable for some Presidential platform,
though at the expense of any and every in-
terest you may possess, no matter how dear
or how vital and momentous.

This state of things results from party ob-
ligations and a regard to party success. And
they but subserve the ends of their estab-
lishment in consulting their own interests,
and the advancement of the party to which
they are pledged. You cannot look to them
as sentinels over interests that are repugnant
to the feelings of the majority of the self-
sustaining party.

In the Federal Legislature the South has
some voice and some votes; but over the pub-
lic press, as it now stands at the Seat of
Government, the North has a controlling in-
fluence. The press of this city takes its
tone from that of the North. Even our
Southern press is subjected, more or less, to
the same influence. Our public men, yes,
our southern men, owe their public standing
and reputation too often to the commendation
and praise of the Northern press. Southern
newspapers republish from their respective
party organs in this city, and in so doing,
reproduce—unconsciously, doubtless, in
most instances, of the wrong they do—the
northern opinion in regard to public men
and measures. How dangerous such a state
of things must be to the fidelity of your re-
presentatives it is needless to say! They
are but men, and it would be unwise to sup-
pose that they are beyond the reach of tem-
ptations which influence the rest of mankind.

Fellow-citizens, it rests with ourselves to
alter this state of things, so far as the South
is concerned. We have vast interests, which
we are bound, by many considerations, to
defend with all the moral and political means
in our power. One of the first steps to this
great end is to establish a Southern Organ
here, a paper through which we may com-
mune with one another and the world at
large. We do not propose to meddle with
political parties as they now exist; we wish
to enlist every southern man in a southern
cause, and in defence of southern rights, be
he Whig or be Democrat. We do not pro-
pose to disturb him, or to shake him in his
party relations. All that we ask is, that he
shall consider the constitutional rights of
the South, which are involved in the great
abolition movement, as paramount to all
party and all other political considerations.

And surely the time has come when all
southern men should unite for the purpose of
self-defence. Our relative power in the
Legislature of the Union is diminishing with
every census; the dangers which menace us
are daily becoming greater; and the chief in-
strument in the assaults upon us is the pub-
lic press, over which, owing to our supineness,
the North exercises a controlling influence. So
far as the South is concerned, we can change
and reverse this state of things. It is not to
be borne, that public sentiment at the South
should be stifled or controlled by the party
press.

Let us have a press of our own, as the
North has, both here and at home—a press
which shall be devoted to Southern rights,
and animated by Southern feeling; which
shall look not to the North but the South for
the tone which is to pervade it. Claiming
our share of power in Federal Legislation, let
us also claim our share of influence in the
press of the country. Let us organize in
every Southern town and county, so as to
send this paper into every house in the land.
Let us take, too, all the means necessary to
maintain the paper by subscription, so as to
increase its circulation, and promote the
spread of knowledge and truth. Let every
portion of the South furnish its full quota
of talent and money to sustain a paper which
ought to be supported by all, because it will
be devoted to the interest of every Southern
man. It will be the earnest effort of the
committee who are charged with these ar-
rangements, to procure editors of high talent
and standing; and they will also see that the
paper is conducted without *oppositum* and
without reference to the political parties of
the day. With these assurances, we feel
justified in calling upon you, the people of
the Southern States—to make the necessary
efforts to establish and maintain the proposed
paper.

A. P. BUTLER,
JACKSON MORTON,
R. THOMPSON,
J. THOMPSON.

The Scotch journals announce that Lord
Cockburn is engaged on a life of his late dis-
tinguished friend and brother judge, Lord Jef-
frey.

SPEECH OF
MR. T. H. AVERETT, of Virginia,
On the proposition to admit California as a
State into the Union, delivered in the House
of Representatives, March 27, 1850.

The House being in Committee of the Whole
on the state of the Union, on the President's
Message communicating the Constitution of
California,
Mr. AVERETT said:

Mr. Chairman: I engage in this discussion,
painfully embarrassed by a distrust of myself,
and with but faint hopes of effecting any good
by anything that I can say. I have seen the
initial restlessness and indifference of a large
portion of the House during the delivery of
much more impressive appeals than any which
I can make—much more able arguments than
which I feel able to adduce. From these con-
siderations, I have hitherto imposed silence upon
myself, determining merely to vote in conformity
to constitutional and representative obligations,
and so to vote as to protect and defend the
Constitution as it is written, and the rights
and interests of the people whom I serve. But
faint as my hopes of influencing any portion
of this House, by anything that I can utter, I
yet feel impelled to take part in this discussion,
under a conviction that all has not been said
that ought to be said, and that there are weighty
questions of the true state of the Union, and
of the rights of the people, which have not been
adequately debated, which have been buried under
the absorbing question of slavery, and the mere
sectional prejudices and collisions which it has
engendered.

The question whether slavery shall or shall
not be admitted into California, overrides all
other questions. Amid the turmoil and collision
of the House, amidst the confusion of the
debate, we have lost sight of the true state of the
Union. The rights and interests of the United
States in our newly-acquired territory, our right
of property therein, and the true functions of
Congress in regard to it, are neglected and re-
pudiated. I desire to direct the attention of this
House and the country, to a true reading of that
clause of the Constitution, which declares that
Congress shall have power to dispose of, and
make all needful rules and regulations re-
specting the territory or other property of the
"United States." Now, my friend and colleague,
[Mr. MILLSON], and others, have exposed the
error, in converting the word territory (land,
property) into the plural "Territories," begin-
ning with a capital T, not to be found in the
Constitution, and conveying the idea of a
separate State, not of a territory, and not of
organized communities of people with prop-
erty. No further exposition of that Executive
mistake, or Cabinet trick, is necessary; but it
is necessary, that when we so clearly perceive the
powers which that clause confers upon us, that
we begin to think of the duties and obligations
which it imposes upon us.

Are we discharging those duties? Are we con-
forming to those obligations? No, Mr. Chair-
man; no, sir, we have scarcely turned our
thoughts to them. The President has incited
and urged the adventurers, mixed breeds, and
alien sojourners in California, to form for them-
selves a State government, and assume juris-
diction over the country, and now urges us to
sanction that assumption. Now, sir, I maintain
that we cannot do this, without a complete re-
jection of duty, and imminent hazard to, not
a total sacrifice of, the rights and interests of
the United States. To secure the rights of all,
this Government, as trustee for all, must exercise
the rights and functions of a property holder in
California and New Mexico. Those rights can-
not be secure, if we erect a separate State gov-
ernment in California, and admit into it, with-
out the assent of the United States, the rights
of the attributes of State sovereignty. We must
keep the reins of Government in our own
hands, in conformity to "the general provisions
of the Constitution," and the uniform usages
in regard to newly-settled territory. We know
nothing of the land titles in that country. A
State government, organized there in the present
condition of things, will unquestionably assume
jurisdiction in all disputed lands, and will, if
organized, however lawless, will sway the
destinies of our modern Oregon. Look to the
debates in the California convention, and you see
the incipient symptoms of disaffection to this
Government already—look to the scoundrels
and assassinations about the gold mines, and
the murder of our citizens, and you see the
controlling power of this Government, and that,
too, exerted in some simple, practical form, which
while it shall give peace and security to our own
enterprising adventurers, shall make all, whether
natives, aliens, settlers, or itinerants, of what-
ever kind or complexion, feel and acknowledge,
that to this Government are they to look for
governmental aid and protection, and that
this Government holds in trust the territory as
the property of the United States. A simple,
efficient territorial government, backed, if neces-
sary, by military force, seems indispensable; and,
sir, much as I distrust "the powers that be," and
deeply as I deprecate the issue of usurpations
and intrigues, sanctioned by the signature of
General Taylor, by which it is attempted to
annex California into the Union as a State, I
would be willing—as indeed, the most of my
party were willing last winter—to arm him with
the power of carrying into practical operation in
those countries, the Constitution and laws of
this Union; and I venture the confident opinion
that if we do this, the great majority of our own
citizens, who have settled about the gold mines,
and commenced the arts of the Pacific coast, will
not only acquiesce in the measure, but will
tender their services, as minute men, to back
the Executive with force and arms, if necessary,
in enforcing the laws. Sir, the immense mining
and commercial interests in California, demand
the guardianship of this Government, unembar-
rassed by the conflicting claims to sovereignty
of any separate State government, such as would
be that of California, if now acknowledged and
admitted as a State of this Union. Unembar-
rassed by any such conflict of authority, and de-
voted to the extraneous slavery question, we
should still find need for the best exertions of
our united councils, under the purest impulses
of a patriotism that regards the rights and in-
terests of the whole Union, properly to dis-
charge the duties incident upon us. Must we
go back to our constituents, and tell them that
their highest interests have been neglected, our
constitutional obligations disregarded, and that
the slavery question has engrossed all of our
attention?

In our discussions here, it has been clearly
proved, and by nobody more clearly than by
General Cass, that Congress has no constitu-
tional power to interfere with the legislative
power of the Missouri restriction, and his vote
in legislating in regard to the territory of the
United States. Yet he knows—and we all know—that
this House has interfered, and made the exclu-
sion of slavery and slaveholders a *sine qua non*,
in legislating upon this territorial question. We
all know that the Northern Whigs, Aboli-
tionists, and Free-Soilers, on the last night of
June 27, P. Barbours, I argued that the Mis-
souri Compromise had settled the slavery ques-
tion, (we were weak enough to think so); that
Mr. Van Buren was a republican, and as such
could not, and would not countenance any at-
tempt to pervert the action of this Government
to any purposes at war with our rights; that it
was manifest that he was preferred by the great
mass of that party opposed to the assumptions,
by the Federal Government, of any unauthori-

zed power; and that we ought to unite cordially
upon him as the only means of defeating a can-
didate [Mr. SERGEANT] known to be opposed
to us upon the slavery question, and upon every
other which distinguished a republican from a
Federalist. Mr. Van Buren was elected Vice
President, with the aid of Southern votes.

During the term of his services as Vice Pres-
ident and as President, he and his friends, North
and South, supported too, by patriotic Whigs,
their faces against the slavery question in
Congress, or connecting it with party
politics as dangerous to the public peace, and to
the Union. We are assured by our Northern
friends that the Abolitionists were a lean minority
of moon-struck fanatics. Seeing, however,
that they were organized, and that they contin-
ued to throw their fire-brands into Congress, it
seemed to me to be no less a matter of feeling
and principle, than of calculating policy, to hold
out the right hand of fellowship to our North-
ern friends; and I, for one, was not ashamed
(though a private citizen) to be considered a par-
tisan in support of Northern politicians. I shall
ever be proud to be considered a partisan, as
long as I can do so honestly and courageously
for the rights of the States, upon constitutional
principles, and for the freedom of the people
from governmental injustice.

[Here, on motion, the committee rose.]

THURSDAY, March 28, 1850.
Mr. AVERETT continued his remarks sub-
stantially as follows:

Yesterday, when the committee rose on
yesterday, I was proceeding to show the exist-
ence and progress of revolution, by pointing to
the history of party politics during the Adminis-
tration of Mr. Van Buren. It is not my purpose
to deal out their bitter epithets against him, or
any other man. In the last Presidential canvass,
he was emphatically the anti-slavery candidate
of the self-styled Free-Soil party. "Out of
my mouth shall stand no sword," enough of
him. But, sir, since he occupied the Presiden-
tial chair, what a change have we witnessed in
the minds and actions of men!

What a revolution do we now behold in the
workings of our political system! Sir, North-
ern members on this floor may pour forth their
anathemas against State legislatures, in the
South for daring to resolve to defend the equal
rights of the Southern States. They may sing
hosannas to the Union, and with uplifted hands,
and eyes directed to Heaven, implore the Al-
mighty Ruler of the universe to arrest the pro-
gress of revolutionary movements in the South.
I proclaim to them, and will proclaim to the
people, that I have no history of their acts in the
Capitol, to the unprovoked insult offered to the
Southern people, in the Winthrop Provision to
the Oregon bill, when no Southern man desired
to carry, or dreamed of carrying, slavery to
Oregon. I point to the Wilmot Provision, which
was ineffectually thrust forward during the late
war with Mexico, attempted to be fastened upon
the people of the United States, and supported by
gallant armies, and even attempted to be lugged
into a treaty with a foreign Government. I
point to the course of Northern members, on
the last night of the last Congress, the history
of whose actions and doings, with the names of
the actors, ought to be stereotyped and handed
down as a dark chapter in the history of the
revolutions in progress. They boldly as-
sumed the responsibility, and now, in the
doing of, defeating a bill, whose defeat would
have stopped the wheels of Government, rather
than permit the passage of a measure simply
authorizing President Taylor to carry out Con-
stitution and laws into practical operation in
New Mexico and California. The South did
not ask that slavery should be carried there by
the action of this Government. We simply
asked that the slavery question be left alone,
and in the language of a patriotic Senator from
the North, that that question "be left to the
silent operations of a Constitution."

But our claim of equal rights was repudiated.
Every attempt to extend the Constitution and
laws over our Mexican territory was resisted.
The rights of the people, and the safety of the
adventurers in California, for whom is now
claimed the sovereignty over that golden region,
with the broad expanse of its Pacific coast—the
rights of the United States as a property holder
—the duty of this Government to make all need-
ful rules and regulations as a property holder
therein, have all disappeared. For a moment
all legislation in regard to them strenuously
resisted, unless coupled with an express pro-
vision, that the slaveholders of the South should
be excluded. All others might go there and
reap golden harvests. The Chilian, the Peruvian,
the Chinese, the Sandwich islander, the Spaniard,
the Englishman, the Frenchman, the Mexican,
with his poor slaves, mixed-breeds and motley
races, of every clime and color, except the slave
holder of the South, might freely settle there,
under the protection of the municipal laws of
Mexico; but the gallant and generous people
of the South, whose blood had freely flowed,
and whose treasure had been expended without
 stint, in the acquisition of the country, were de-
nied any part or lot in it.

Sir, I will not consume much time in re-iter-
ating the charge made by other members of the
South—a charge known to be true by everybody
—that our northern brethren have practically
nullified plain provisions of the Constitution,
and laws enacted in pursuance thereof, providing
that runaway slaves shall be restored to their
owners. It is notorious, that absconding slaves
by hundreds have been seduced into the
States and harbored there, and that the consti-
tutional and legal obligations to restore them to
their masters, are set at naught. It is notorious,
that all efforts to recover them are thwarted,
the palpable disregard of the Constitution; and
although there are northern members on this floor,
and in the Senate, who acknowledge this sin of
the North against the South, they know that the
popular sentiments of the North will not tol-
erate the practical enforcement of this acknowl-
edged constitutional obligation. Here, then, we
have proof, beyond question, that the North is at
open warfare with the guaranteed rights of the
Southern people; and in this, again, we have an
undeniable evidence that the North has fomented
and fostered revolution.

But, sir, it is needless further to specify. We
have here daily—live in northern newspapers
daily—developments of this revolutionary spirit;
and although I know that there are good and
true northern men, who condemn the course of
our assailants, yet, sir, it is a deplorable fact
that they are a powerless minority. Do they
mean to float with the current, and join in a
crusade against us, or will they not rather place
their reliance upon the sober second thought
of the honest voters of the North, who mean
right, but are going wrong, under the delusions
of a mistaken and misdirected philanthropy?
Will they not assail the assailants, and expose
the impostures, by which they have misinformed
and misled so many honest people?

Sir, this must be done, else we are a divided
and distracted people, and this Government will
be long become a curse to us. Our public men
—our leading politicians—our influential pres-

es of the North—must put their heads together,
and unite in an honest effort to thwart the
schemes of Abolitionists, self-styled Free-Soil-
ers, and trading politicians in alliance with them.
They must not rely upon conciliating them;
they must not depend upon putting them down,
by beating them at their own game; they must
give up the idea of killing off the Wilmot pro-
vision, and its friends, by pleading the validity
of a dead Mexican provision, which would
need an excuse for inexcusable votes; they
must plead the municipal laws of Mexico as
still in force in our dominions; but lawyers
who need no such excuses, have demonstrated
—and plain, honest men, of common sense, can
readily perceive the fallacy and dangerous heresy
of a doctrine that maintains that the conquered
can give law to the conqueror, and that the
property rights of our citizens rest upon the
property rights of our citizens, and not upon the
laws of our dominions; and that the absolute
laws of vanquished Mexico. [See note B.]

It will not do to plead, that the right of
property in slaves does not exist, except in the
local limits of the States, whose municipal
laws establish it. That, again, is false and her-
etical. The right of property of the owner in
his slave existed before the formation of either
our State or Federal Constitutions. It has
never been surrendered in either, but, on the
contrary, was expressly recognized and guaran-
teed in both, as a pre-existing right. The slave
may roam through the free States, but the Con-
stitution ordains that his owner still has the
right of property in him, and imposes upon him
an obligation upon the free States to acknowledge
and enforce it. The right exists upon the high-
way of nations, and has been acknowledged and
enforced by this Government, with the con-
currence of northern and southern statesmen. For-
eign nations have been compelled to acknowl-
edge it, by paying for slaves who had escaped
into their dominions, and been taken into their
jurisdiction. And if this right has not been en-
forced in the Creole case, and in one or two
other cases, it was not because it was repudiated,
but was "waived," in consideration of the
valued advantages gained by us in the Ash-
burton treaty; and it is a disgrace to the Gov-
ernment, that it has not remunerated the suffer-
ers in those cases, after fighting to enforce their
acknowledged rights upon that Southern nation.

I think, sir, if I had time, I could show off
a certain Southern Senator, [Mr. Benton], who has
thrust himself forward as the apologist, if not the
advocate, of Free Soilism, in no evasive light,
by contrasting certain statesmen of the South
proudly against the Ashburton treaty, with his
present position and doctrines. If I be-
lieve, is the author of the beautiful catch-phrase,
"anti-slavery propaganda," a new name in the
hands of the Free-Soilers. Do not mistake the
generation of negroes? If so, I presume the
silver-headed patriarchs of Abolitionism [Messrs.
Giddings, of Ohio, and Mann of Massachusetts],
would rebel against his name and doctrine. They
do not, then, everybody must perceive that he is
playing the humbugger, for nobody desires to im-
port slaves into the country. But I let him pass,
and implore you, my Northern friends, if you real-
ly be friends of the Union, and not of its ene-
mies, that you cease to rely upon any mere
electroting catch-words or false doctrines, no
matter how dogmatically urged by would-be lead-
ers, whether from the North or the South.

I implore you to go to your people, and re-
state the true doctrine of the Constitution, and fearlessly
denouncing and exposing the impostures of Abolition-
ism and Free Soilism. Why, what sense is
there in the name of the Union, and the Union
soil is free. Our northern brethren are freely ad-
mitted among us, without any question as to their
rights of property. We receive them as citizens,
and the enjoyment of all the rights of person
and property, with our own native-born citizens.
They break down our native mechanics, by underselling them
with the products of the cheaper labor of the North.
They preach the Gospel to us, and live upon the
farms of the South, and work upon our soil, and
teach our children, and make fortunes by it; and
in spite of all the aspersions produced by the
warfare of the North against the South, the soil
of old Virginia is free soil to settlers from every
point of the compass. The soil of North Carolina
is not only freely admitted upon a perfect equality
of rights, but are invited to become citizens of our
State; and owners and cultivators of our soil.

Many of them are going to the States of the
people from the North, demonstrating the fallacy
of another vile imposture, to wit, that free white
labor cannot thrive where slave labor exists. It
is grossly false; for the most successful and
concentrated from the people of the North, it is
a matter of fact, which can be attested by every
southern Representative upon this floor, that
white labor and slave laborers toil together in
our forests, fields, and workshops, and that the
happier man, both classes of laborers are exalted
by the proximity. The white laborer is exalted
by the fact, that the slave is subordinate to
him—ready to cast off from the more menial
manipulations; the slave is exalted and en-
riched in his labors, because he has his master
overseer toiling with him, and has a certain
guarantee of sharing in the proceeds of their toil.
The existence of slave labor, then,